

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-02 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 OMB-01 TRSE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 IO-13 /070 W

-----013928 302147Z /72

O R 302030Z JUN 77

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1291

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 4428

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE

SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE MEETINGS: JUNE 30

DEPT FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV

FROM USDEL CSCE

SUMMARY: SWISS, AIDED BY AUSTRIANS, CONTINUED THEIR EFFORT JUNE 30 TO MOVE DRAFTING GROUP FORWARD ON AGENDA FOR MAIN MEETING, SUBMITTING "NON-PAPER" WITH FIVE ADDITIONAL ITEMS TO ROUND OFF AGENDA THEY HAD BEGUN TO SKETCH PREVIOUS DAY. INITIAL RESULT OF THEIR TWO-DAY EFFORT SEEMS TO BE THAT NON-CONTROVERSIAL FIRST FIVE POINTS ENVISAGED FOR OPENING PHASE OF MAIN MEETING ARE GAINING GENERAL SUPPORT IN PRINCIPLE WITH PROVISIO THAT NO FIRM OR DETAILED AGREEMENT POSSIBLE UNTIL SHAPE OF FULL AGENDA AND ORGANIZATIONAL MODALITIES BECOME CLEARER. SWISS AND AUSTRIANS MADE NO BREAKTHROUGH WITH MORE DIFFICULT SUBSTANTIVE AGENDA ITEMS THAT WOULD BE TAKEN UP ONCE MEETING GOES INTO CLOSED SESSIONS. ON KEY ISSUE OF HOW ITEM ON THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WOULD BE DESCRIBED, THEIR NEW PROPOSAL MOVES SLIGHTLY TOWARD CLOSER REPRODUC-  
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TION OF LANGUAGE OF FINAL ACT. END SUMMARY.

1. AFTER DECISION TO FOREGO MORNING PLENARY IN FAVOR OF TWO DRAFTING GROUP MEETINGS, SWISS INTRODUCED "NON-PAPER LISTING FIVE AGENDA ITEMS FOR OPEN PART OF MAIN MEETING DISCUSSED JUNE 29 PLUS FIVE FURTHER ITEMS INCLUDING (6) CONTRIBUTIONS BE ECE AND UNESCO; AND (7) BY "NON-

EUROPEAN MEDITERRANEAN STATES". (8) THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS; (9) FURTHER MEETINGS; AND (10) ADOPTION OF FINAL DOCUMENT. AUSTRIANS INDICATED SUPPORT FOR SWISS PROPOSAL AND CONTRIBUTED FURTHER NON-PAPER OUTLINING ORGANIZATIONAL PROCEDURES FOR HANDLING FINAL THREE ITEMS ("SUBSIDIARY BODIES" FOR EACH OF THREE BASKETS PLUS MEDITERRANEAN; SUBSIDIARY BODIES TO BE "LAUNCHED" AND "GUIDED" BY PLENARY; PLENARY TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR FURTHER MEETINGS AND FINAL DOCUMENT ITEMS AND FOR DRAWING UP WORK SCHEDULE EVERY THREE WEEKS.) TEXTS OF TWO NON-PAPERS TRANSMITTED SEPTTEL. BOTH DELS STRESSED THEIR NON-PAPERS WERE INTENDED AS INFORMAL EFFORTS TO MOVE WORKING GROUP ALONG, NOT FORMAL PROPOSALS TO REPLACE THOSE TABLED IN FIRST WEEK BY US-UK, SOVIETS, NNA OR SUBSEQUENT ROMANIAN AND POLISH VARIANTS.

2. SWISS PAPER USED NNA FORMULATION (BELGRADE 4206) FOR KEY ITEM ON THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, DIVIDING IMPLEMENTATION FROM NEW PROPOSALS WITH TICKS BUT MOVED SLIGHTLY TOWARD LANGUAGE OF FINAL ACT BY INSERTING "BOTH.. AS WELL AS", WHICH DRAWS TWO ELEMENTS A BIT CLOSER TOGETHER.

3. WITH MINOR QUIBBLES ON WORDING, BROAD SPECTRUM OF DELS INCLUDING SOVIETS AND SUCH ALLIES AS UK, CANADA, AND FRANCE EXPRESSED READINESS TO WORK ON BASIS OF FIVE SWISS POINTS OF JUNE 29 FOR INITIAL PHASE OF MAIN MEETING  
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AGENDA. US REP RECALLED THAT IT NOT POSSIBLE TO GIVE ANY SORT OF AGREEMENT TO THESE FIVE POINTS AT PRESENT STAGE OF WORK AND SUGGESTED THAT FIRST FOUR POINTS MIGHT MORE APPROPRIATELY BE JOINED INTO SINGLE AGENDA ITEM CALLED "OPENING CEREMONIES", OR "FORMAL OPENING SESSION." SOVIETS INDICATED THEY WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY GROUPING THESE FOUR ITEMS TOGETHER. COMMENT: OUR SUGGESTION WAS AIMED AT MOVING THE AGENDA ITEM ON THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS UP FROM ITEM 8, SO THAT IT WOULD APPEAR HIGHER ON THE AGENDA. THE SOVIET REPLY WAS PRESUMABLY BECAUSE THEY CONSIDER THAT LARGER NUMBER OF AGENDA ITEMS REDUCES SIGNIFICANCE, AT LEAST OPTICALLY, OF ITEM DEALING WITH IMPLEMENTATION. END COMMENT. US REP ACCEPTED FRENCH SUGGESTION THAT WORKING GROUP WITHOLD JUDGEMENT ON OUR PROPOSAL UNTIL DRAFTING FURTHER ALONG, AT WHICH POINT IT WOULD BE EASIER TO DECIDE WHAT ITEMS MIGHT BE COMBINED.

4. EAST BLOC DELS EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR SWISS-

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CU-02 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04  
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01  
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O R 302030Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1292  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 4428

DEPT FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV  
FROM USDEL CSCE

AUSTRIAN EFFORTS BUT ZEROED IN ON TWO ELEMENTS. THEY SUGGESTED THAT AFTER PUBLIC "OPENING STATEMENTS" THERE SHOULD BE ANOTHER ITEM, "GENERAL DEBATE", IN CLOSED PLENARY. PICKING UP SWEDISH SUGGESTION MADE PREVIOUS DAY IN CONNECTION WITH OPENING STATEMENT ITEM, THEY SUGGESTED THAT THIS CLOSED GENERAL DEBATE MIGHT BE GIVEN TITLE LIKE "SITUATION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE SINCE 1975." THEY WELCOMED FACT THAT BY ADDING "BOTH...AS WELL AS" SWISS AND AUSTRIANS HAD REFORMULATED THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ITEMS SO THAT IT CONTAINED ALL LANGUAGE FROM RELEVANT PARAGRAPH OF FINAL ACT -- AND FROM ORIGINAL SOVIET PROPOSAL-- BUT THEY ARGUED THAT ALL PUNCTUATION (I.E, TWO TICKS AND SEMICOLON BETWEEN TWO ELEMENTS) SHOULD BE DELETED SO THAT ITEM WOULD BE FORMULATED EXACTLY AS SOVIETS HAD PROPOSED.

5. WESTERN DELS AND NNA ALSO WELCOMED SWISS-AUSTRIAN EFFORTS BUT FIRST REACTION TENDED TO FOCUS MORE ON ITEMS OF SECONDARY IMPORTANCE OR ON AUSTRIAN ORGANIZATIONAL  
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PAPER THAN ON THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS FORMULATION.  
NORWAY EXPRESSED CONTINUING PREFERENCE, HOWEVER, FOR SEPARA-

TION OF IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS AS IN US-UK PAPER, AND US REMINDED WORKING GROUP THAT WE CONTINUED TO SUPPORT PAPER WHICH WE CO-SPONSORED.

6. FRENCH ARGUED THAT THEY CONCEIVED OF THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, IN EFFECT, AS A "GENERAL DEBATE" WHICH WOULD COVER ALL ITEMS IN FINAL ACT, AND THUS THAT IT WOULD BE SUPERFLUOUS TO ESTABLISH SEPARATE AGENDA ITEM ON GENERAL DEBATE IN CLOSED PLENARY AS SOVIETS SUGGESTED. FRENCH ALSO SAID THAT THIS THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS SHOULD NOT BE COMPLETELY UNSTRUCTURED; AGENDA OR ORGANIZATIONAL WORKING MODALITIES SHOULD GIVE SOME FORM TO IT. THEY ALSO REVERTED TO POSITION THEY ARGUED IN PRE-BELGRADE NATO CONSULTATIONS THAT BULK OF THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS SHOULD OCCUR IN PLENARY RATHER THAN IN COMMITTEES. SWISS ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES WITH FRENCH ARGUMENTS AGAINST NEW ITEM ON GENERAL DEBATE IN CLOSED PLENARY.

7. NUMBER OF DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING US, QUESTIONED WHETHER CONTRIBUTIONS FROM ECE, UNESCO AND NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES SHOULD BE SEPARATE AGENDA ITEMS SINCE THEY SEEMED LOGICALLY TO BE PART OF THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. FRG ARGUED THAT "NON-EUROPEAN MEDITERRANEAN STATES" WAS NEW LANGUAGE FOR CSCE AND WOULD SEEM TO EXCLUDE ALBANIA IN UNLIKELY EVENT THAT ALBANIANS WISHED TO MAKE CONTRIBUTION. SWISS RESPONDED THAT THEY WERE NOT WEDDED TO LANGUAGE BUT WISHED TO AVOID "NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES" BECAUSE THEY DESIRED TO MAKE CLEAR THAT LIBYA AND LEBANON, ALSO HITHERTO CSCE ABSTAINERS, WERE WELCOME. COMMENT: DROPPING QUALIFIER "NON-PARTICIPATING" COULD, HOWEVER, ALSO BE USED

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BY MALTA AND OTHERS WHO WISH TO GIVE THESE STATES SOME FORM OF PERMANENT OR AT LEAST MORE PROMINENT PARTICIPATORY ROLE. END COMMENT.

8. QUESTIONS ON AUSTRIAN ORGANIZATIONAL PAPER FOCUSED ON WHAT AUSTRIAN REP ADMITTED WAS "CONSCIOUSLY EQUIVOCAL" TERMINOLOGY SUCH AS MEANING OF STATEMENTS THAT SUBSIDIARY BODIES WOULD BE "GUIDED" AND "LAUNCHED" BY PLENARY. VAGUE AUSTRIAN EXPLANATIONS SUGGESTED THAT THEY ARE SEEKING MIDDLE GROUND BETWEEN CONCEPT IN US-UK DRAFT DECISION SHEET THAT PREPARATORY MEETING WOULD DEFINITELY ESTABLISH COMMITTEES AND SOVIET DESIDERATUM THAT "WORKING BODIES" BE CREATED ONLY WHEN DECIDED BY PLENARY AND LIMITED AS TO WHAT THEY CAN WORK ON. US SUGGESTED THAT AUSTRIANS MAY WISH TO RECONSIDER WHETHER IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO ASSIGN ITEM ON FINAL DOCUMENT TO PLENARY, AS THEY SUGGESTED, SINCE THIS MIGHT BE DEEMED TO INCLUDE DRAFTING WORK WHICH MIGHT MORE EASILY BE

HANDLED BY COMMITTEES IN WHICH SPECIFIC MATTERS ARE TO BE DISCUSSED.

9. COMMENT: THERE MAY BE TENDENCY, PARTICULARLY ON PART OF PRESS, TO PORTRAY PAST TWO DAYS' EVENTS AS SOME SORT OF BREAKTHROUGH. WE CONSIDER THAT THIS WOULD BE PREMATURE IN VIEW OF FACT THAT MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE ITEMS, INCLUDING HOW TO DESCRIBE IMPLEMENTATION, LANGUAGE ON FURTHER MEETINGS AND FINAL DOCUMENT, AND ORGANIZATIONAL MODALITIES, NOT TO MENTION ISSUE OF DURATION OF MAIN MEETING, ARE FAR FROM RESOLVED. WE SOUGHT BY OUR INTERVENTIONS JUN 30 TO MAKE CLEAR THAT NO EUPHORIA IS JUSTIFIED. WE WILL PROVIDE OUR ANALYSIS OF POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF SWISS-AUSTRIAN INITIATIVE AFTER REMAINDER OF WEEK'S DEBATE AND AFTER WE HAVE HAD OPPORTUNITY TO SAMPLE OPINIONS OF OTHER DELS FURTHER.  
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## Message Attributes

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